

Belle Coda Indians - Chapter IV

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FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds----Totem-poles----Coppers----Professional Prerogatives--
 --A'alk Dances----Miscellaneous Ceremonies.

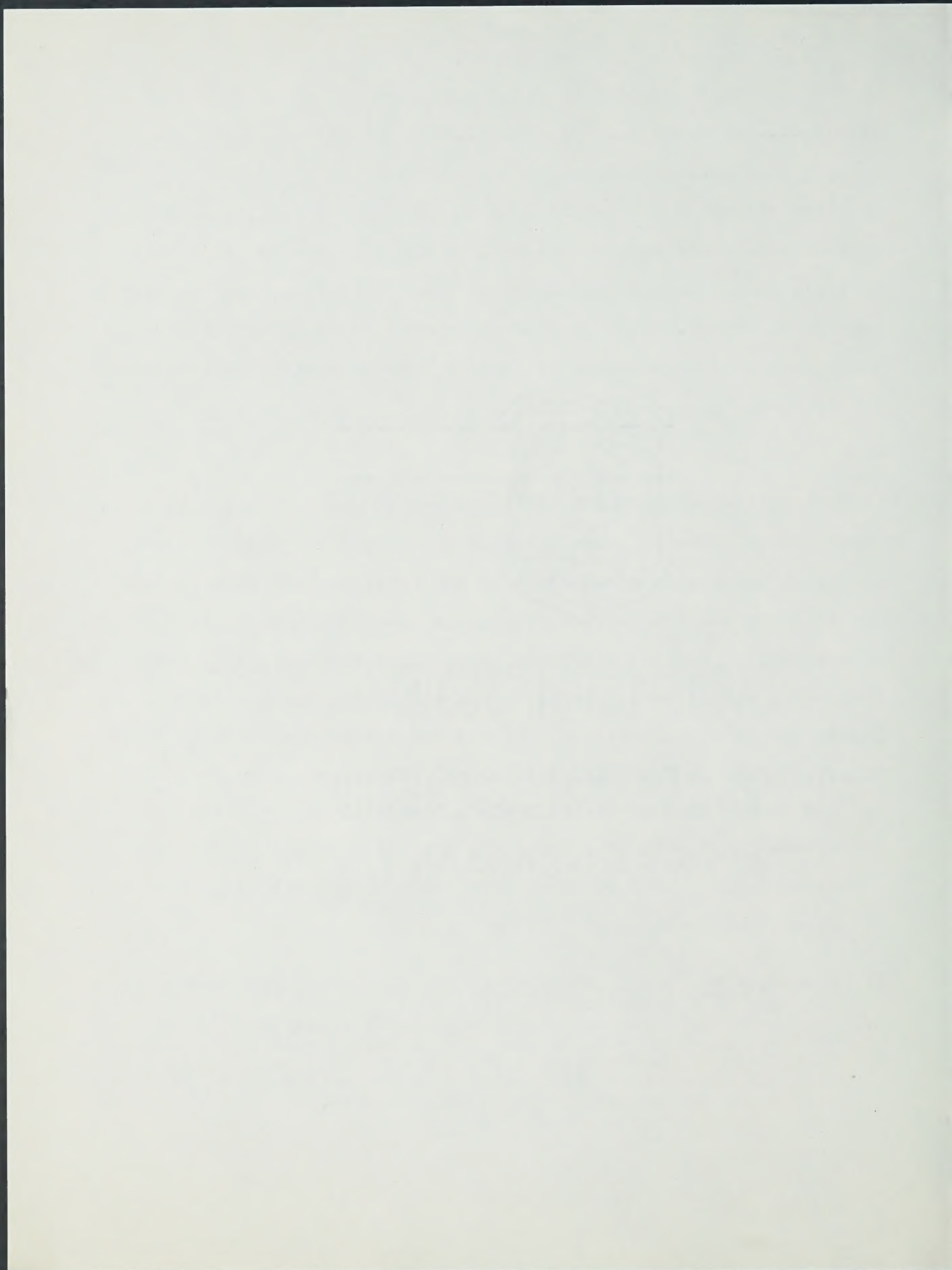
The ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account thereof, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

 HERALDS

The principal functions of heralds¹ have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or kusiut dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.²

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact

1. Herald, älk^w, plural, waälk^wαts, not to be confused with a'alk, the name of a society. (See p.)
2. This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.



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with when foreign guests ~~are present~~ since errors not only cause friction and embarrassment, ~~but~~ but ~~actually~~ diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During ~~the~~ the actual progress of the rites, ~~themselves~~, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occasion by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from ~~the~~ speeches being delivered. A white man would ^{be annoyed with surprise} regard ^a such constant interruptions, ~~as annoying~~, but the Bella Coola consider that no one ~~one~~ ^{one} be listening to a speech if comments are not forthcoming. Consequently, ~~the~~ a herald makes frequent interpolations in every address, now repeating some important remark, ~~and~~ now calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to listen attentively.

type of ceremony

The making of comments is a duty which a herald performs at every ceremony, of every type, but it is at potlatches that this is most important. In fact, a potlatch is impossible without heralds since a chief depends on them to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One of the writer's informants likened the functions of a herald to that of a compass, constantly guiding the course of a chief's ceremonial life. Without a herald, a chief would be as useless as a ship tossed on the ocean with no hand to guide its course. Although the chief duty of heralds is to extol the actions of ^a chief, yet they can, and are expected to ^{one} deride a chief who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which chiefs have ^{far} forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or ^{it may be that} when a woman ^{neglects} has declined to share ^{her} abundant berries. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to ^{the} ~~this~~ action under ^{no} such (a slim) disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. Needless to say, ^{this} such public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful ~~to~~ not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as Yiki, Mountain Goat, and all present realised that he was ^{alluding to} ~~referring to~~ the stingy chief.

omission

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Heralds must exercise due care in their witticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of ~~the~~^{so} remark is not only lost, ~~but~~^{person} they expose themselves to the wrath of the ~~offended~~^{nevertheless}. None the less, a herald always ~~endeavours~~^{strives} to cause merriment, and often takes risks with this aim in view. Herald's not only try to make humorous remarks, they also endeavour to ~~cause amuse-~~^{may} ~~ment~~ by their antics. As already described, the donor of a potlatch throw^s to one of these ~~men~~^{men} a dish containing liquid food in such a way that the contents dribble^s over the recipient. ~~In such cases~~^{though} it often happens that a herald, able to catch the dish, deliberately allows the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner, ~~therefore~~^{making} the contrast ~~more~~^{more} pronounced.

It is thus apparent that one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon. None the less, his position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act as her^{al} of many occasions. Ever since, ~~then~~^o, the position has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those members of the family who themselves lack the ability to give potlatches. Sometimes the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure ~~the slight~~^{after} ~~deroga-~~^{loss of dignity} ~~tion~~^{accompanying} on account of the emoluments ~~attached to it~~^{attached to it}. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, and since heralds ~~give~~^{are} are essential to every ceremony, it follows that they always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs, remembering their dependence upon ~~heralds~~^{the and}, shower presents upon them. A ~~herald~~^{one} who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food, ~~thus~~^{and} causing merriment to the guests, is suitably rewarded for having ~~allowed~~^{permitted} ~~chief~~^{the} to add to the dignity of his potlatch ~~in this manner~~^{in this manner}. In any case, ~~they~~ receives presents for summoning the people, for seating the guests, and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. The writer remembers an ~~incident~~ incident told him by an old informant. In his younger days, this man had been dancing a asaak dance, when two heralds remarked that

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the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, ^{meaning} ~~that is,~~ that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the writer's informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. Occasions of this kind are not the only ones ^{at} ~~on~~ which heralds are benefitted even when there is no general distribution of presents. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a kusiut should fall when a herald is watching, ^{the latter} ~~he~~ receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can ~~remove~~ ^{the} and claim any of ~~his~~ clothing~~x~~ of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks.

As with so many of their elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the ~~antiquated first~~ wish of Alquntain as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought ~~heralds~~ with them heralds whose names had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was Qaqat^{li} who was a member of Xencua's (1) party at Kinsquit, another was Olqoimut who came with ayuyuyut. (2). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants ^{of} to-day. Others of the first chiefs appointed ~~to~~ certain of their relatives to act as heralds, ^{and} ~~creating~~ by means of the power with which they were endowed, ^{created} names with respect to their functions. It must not be imagined that his name as herald is ever a man's only designation; he must always have an ancestral name of some kind, as well the probability of possessing kusiut names in addition to those of a professional nature among which may be reckoned his herald's name. Either ~~by bringing~~ ^{through} with them from above, or ~~by creation~~ ^{was} on this earth, each group of first settlers ~~became~~ ^{was} provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out

(1) see page .

(2) see page .

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from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first peoples, and it is certain that none have been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological conceptions, although every man who owns one of the ancient names embodied in an origin myth likewise knows the name of the herald associated with the first user of that name.

~~Although heralds function until the potlatch season is over, they are not~~

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, irrespective of whether the donor is, or is not, a member of the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the ancestral family suffering the loss are not deprived of the ^{services} ~~of heralds~~. None the less, they suffer from the ^{embodiment} ~~fact~~ that one of their prized prerogatives, the visible ~~existence~~ of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. Under such circumstances, no member of ~~the~~ ^{an} ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able (at it to revive) the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with

a new herald. ^{The} ~~the~~ senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, ^{is an influential} or, especially if he ~~is chief, if not~~ ^{is} he may use his own discretion ~~about this~~.

In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is invited to accept the post; if he does so, the matter is settled, if not, another is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment ~~has~~ ^{have} been

validated by the distribution of presents ^{for this purpose} ~~with respect to it~~ at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returnable since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name.

Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the ^{many} ways in which a chief ~~shows his wealth~~ is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties henceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. In course of time a herald, from constant ^{participation} ~~taking part~~ in all kinds of ceremonials, becomes fully conversant with every type, and ^{is} ~~are~~ appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

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Although acceptance of the post of herald ^{somewhat} ~~often~~ curtails a man's activities in other respects, ~~this~~ ^{instances are known of energetic men} ~~it is not always the case.~~ ^{ones using} ~~Heralds have often used the~~ ^{the} ~~prizes~~ ^{on} ~~received~~ ^{their} to establish themselves as chiefs, passing ^{on} their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being ~~himself~~ ^{own} satisfied with his position in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

TOTEM-POLES.

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole (1) erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by Äiquitäm, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege descended from that group of a chief ~~who is entitled to erect such a pole, under~~ to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected as a means of graphically depicting incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the erection is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this ~~could~~ ^{might} be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, ^{since} ~~as~~ a chief wealthy enough to ^{erect a pole} ~~give a potlatch~~ naturally desires ~~this~~ ^{it} to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for (1). Totem-pole, Äskaiät, "Outside Post."

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their relative ^{rarity} ~~fewness~~. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, ^{all myths do not include totem-poles.} but in other cases the form and experiences of ancestors can be portrayed equally well by paintings on the house front. Consequently the absence of a ^{one} ~~totem-pole~~ before the door of a chief's house is not a sign of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. The writer carefully questioned a number of elderly Bella Coola on the subject, and in every case was assured that the number and size of their poles was never as great as among the northern tribes. There seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement.

When a chief is making preparations for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy both to reward the artisan and validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral ~~name~~ ^{myth} containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he ^{indicates} ~~designates~~ that design to the carpenter. In the story ^{Alkwi} ~~describing~~ the adventures of Alkwi, (1) for example, there is a description of his totem-pole with ~~the design of~~ a globe at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledglings towards which a Grizzly Bear is endeavouring to climb. This is the only instance known to the writer of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to ^{one another} ~~each other~~. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by ^{Alkwi} ~~Alkwi~~ in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of Swat, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky. ~~Another example of an ancestral myth~~

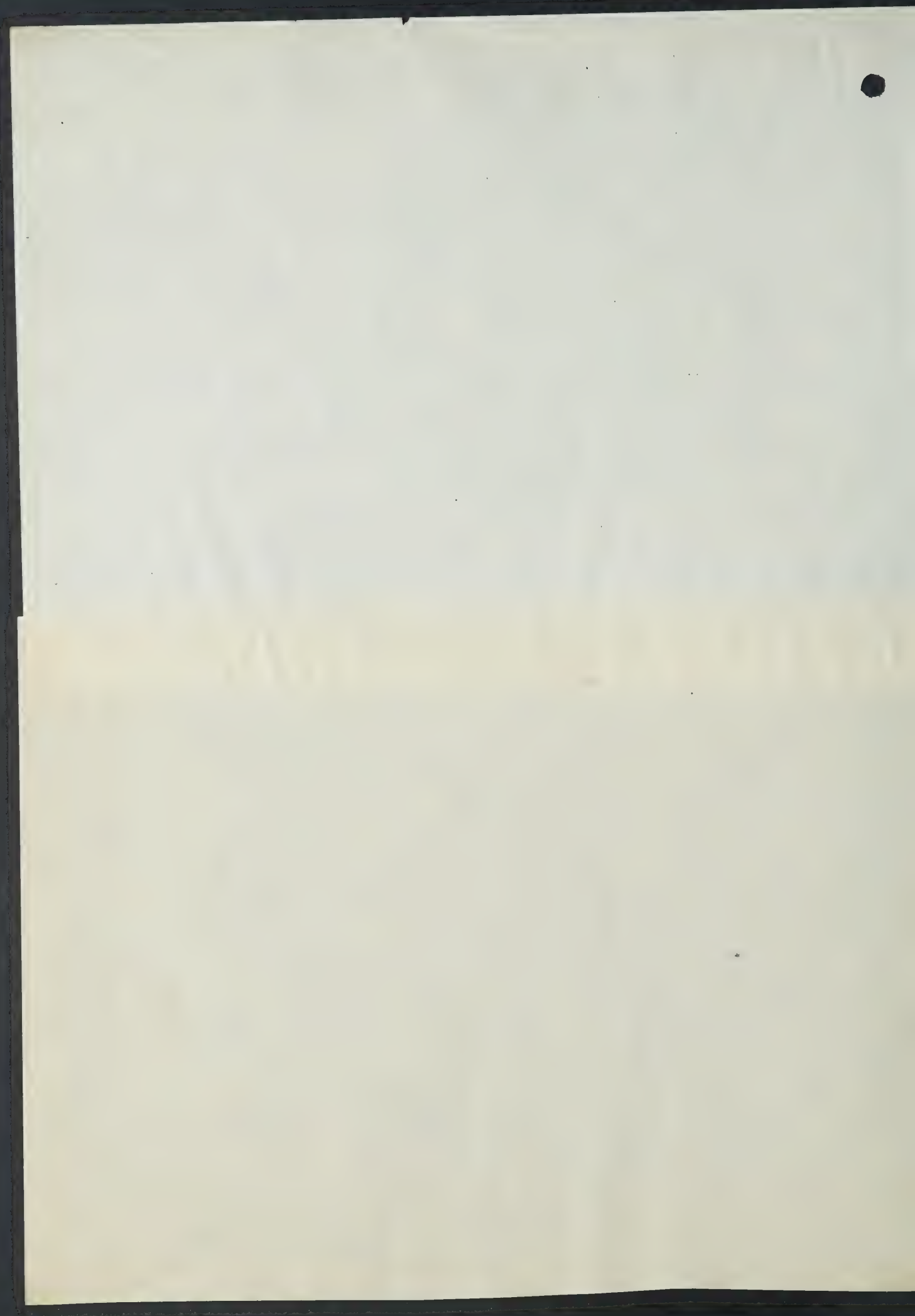
As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief ~~may~~ can use his own discretion ~~in cases where he has a choice of design~~. A totem-pole with specific figures is a frequent present from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to the pole belonging to his own ancestral family. It follows that the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral

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~~However~~ ^{then} recognize the design of another's totem - ^{exhibited,} ~~is~~ ^{the} ~~design~~ rests neither upon the artistic skill of its ~~author~~ ^{not} ~~even~~ ^{then} upon its ~~meaning~~ significance in connection with the owner's ancestral ~~history~~, but upon ~~the~~ ^{the} value of the goods expended to validate ~~its~~ ^{the} design.

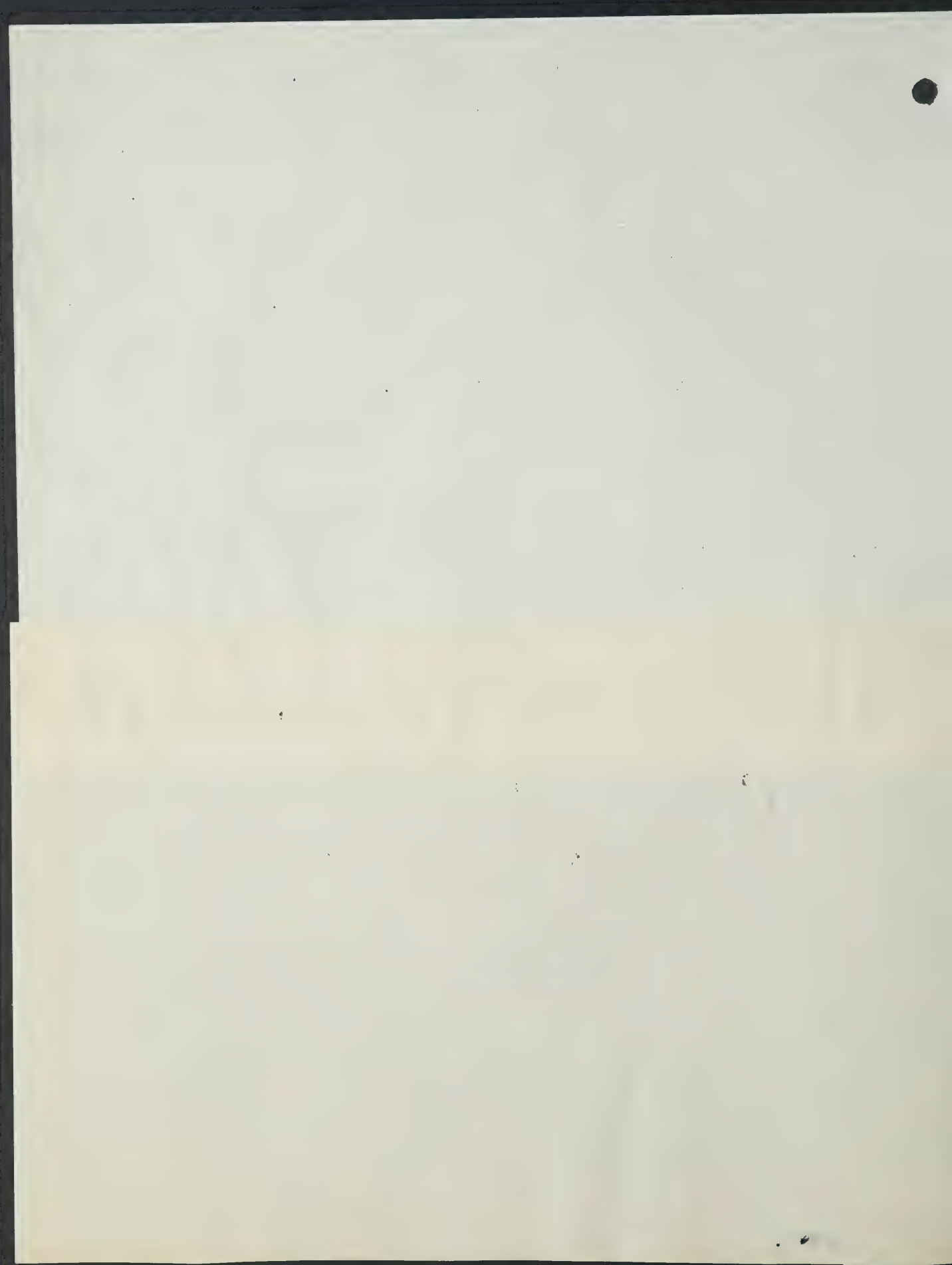
All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the ~~solid~~ ^{huge} ~~trunk~~ ^{trunk} of a cedar, and the ~~designs~~ ^{designs} are cut out of the wood. In other ~~cases~~ ^{have} they are ~~carved~~ ^{carved} in ~~the~~ ^{the} wood.

There is great latitude concerning the choice of paint and, ~~still~~ ⁱⁿ ~~an~~ ^{cases} ~~important~~, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~actual~~ ^{actual} shape of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at the front door of the house with an opening at its base through which all must pass to enter the house, and

the choice in ~~each~~ ^{either} case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral ~~history~~. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may ~~display~~ ^{have} his ancestral ~~emblems~~ ^{crests} by means of ~~paintings~~ ^{have} on the front wall of his house, or ~~by~~ ^{by} carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. ~~Moreover~~, a chief entitled to ~~display~~ a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by ~~gifts~~, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles

are only about 15 to 20 feet in height, and though a few families may have had prerogatives to construct more lofty ones, such as those used by the Haida, it is unlikely that they were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three stand before the house of a chief, but one is more common, or in many cases none at all. At death the pole is in many cases taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post. Otherwise it remains until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another ~~in~~ its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.



COPPERS.

two

The Bella Coola use coppers for only ~~any~~ purposes, casting on the ground ~~over~~ which the representation of a deceased ^{relative} ancestor has trodden, or ~~for~~ throwing into the fire when the ^{figure} representation has left the house. In ^{either} ~~each~~ case, the copper is said to "make bone for the dead." Although ~~coppers are thus~~ used but rarely, the occasion ~~on which a copper is~~ which they are employed is so important that ~~the obtaining of coppers and the rites by which their value is judged~~ ^{to one increase} is an important ^{consideration for a very} feature of the lives of chiefs.

At the present time, most of the coppers used by the Bella Coola are made of metal ~~obtained~~ obtained from the white man, if not actually machine made by the whites for trading purposes. They resemble the ^{familiar} ~~usual~~ shape found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness; some of the newer ^{ones} coppers are thin plates, ^{while} ~~whereas~~ others are heavy and appear to be old. The earliest white traders realised the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became valuable articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire but ~~all of~~ this type seems to have passed out of existence since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques.

^{maintain}

The Bella Coola ~~state~~ ^{maintain} that their ancestors, long before the coming of the white man, used two kinds of coppers. One variety, known as ilila, resembled the plaques produced by white men; this is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, tailtain, is said to have been thicker and heavier. ^{When the} ~~The~~ metal of which this second type was made was placed in a fire, it became soft so that it could be beaten out into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the forest by hunters ^{who were fortunate} ~~who were~~ owing to the observance of ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the

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northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kimsquit, but the writer did not see it, nor did he hear of any being owned by a Bella Coola ~~far~~ within the last few years.

The Bella Coola believe that taitaimx can only be manufactured in one district, at the mouth ~~of what is probably the~~ Yukon River. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is at the highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear at the surface of the water. If one of them comes within reach of a spearman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of flesh ^{is} ~~cut~~ from the body ^{is} fastened to the point of the spear, ^{making it so} ~~thus made more potent,~~ when next the chief lunges at a salmon, ^{he} his spear transfixes it and ^{buies} ~~the fish is~~ brought ^{fish} to shore. He warms the ^{pounds} ~~salmon~~ as a fire and then ~~hushes~~ ^{pounds} it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited ^{this} ~~the~~ distant river for many generations and ~~this~~ belief concerning the ~~manufacture~~ manufacture of taitaimx appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual lalia but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean his copper with a rough stone and water, ^{then} ~~and~~ drink four cupsful ^{of} ~~the liquid which contained minute fragments of~~ ^{it}. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects either lalia or taitaimx could be used indiscriminately.

lalia are likewise said to have ~~had~~ supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural being salmon-like being, sainti, ⁽¹⁾ having changed itself into one. None have been found in recent years because the sainti have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

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These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if this had been the case it is surprising that some traditions of ~~this work~~ were not preserved. On the other hand there is little reason to doubt their use of coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. Not only were all of the writer's informants in agreement on this point, ~~but~~ the frequency of references to coppers in their mythology likewise points to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are references to the obtaining of coppers by some of the first people, and in addition there are many ancestral names, both of men and women, derived from ~~ancestors~~ ^{them}.

The Bella Coola ~~believe~~ attribute the value of coppers to the fact of their occurrence in ^{most} ~~their~~ ancestral myths. ⁽¹⁾ There seems to be no mythological explanation for ^{actual} the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased ^{relative,} ~~ancestor~~, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied ^{in such} ~~in such~~. ^{It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors but this is not essential.}

When arranging for the ~~representation~~ ^{a appearance} of a deceased ^{dead relative,} ~~ancestor~~, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one immediately. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been before this event, it is now worthless; its value has been expended ~~on~~ ^{has just been} on the purpose for which it ~~was~~ ^{was} employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one.

At any convenient time, it may be either hours or days later, any chief ~~can take~~ ^{remove} the copper and give it to any poor man, ~~he~~ only taking care to choose one who has not recently received ~~a copper~~ ^{It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe"}. It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. He straightens ~~it~~ ^{the copper} and repairs it, if necessary by rivetting on ~~the~~ ^{the} broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. ^{(1) Abalone shells and moose skulls are treasured for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two.}

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The poor man may ^{keep} own the copper for years, or it may be only a ~~matter of~~ a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, wishes to obtain it. He buys it ~~from~~ (1) for \$20.00, for example. If two chiefs should happen to want the same copper at the same time, it might be possible for the poor man to haggle about the price, though in such a case it is probable that the two rivals would agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a chief to pay ^{somewhat} lavishly, since the value of the copper depends on the amount expended on it.

The \$20.00 received by the poor man ^{must} cannot be casually ^{spent.} expended. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house, and if he should fail to do so, he would never again be given a copper. The heralds call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first to arrive. They beat out the kusiut song of anyone, to which the owner dances. One after another, kusiut songs are used, until almost every member of the society has danced. Susaak songs ^{may} ~~are~~ then ^{be} used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no ceremonial or religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would ~~xxxx~~ be punished by the receipt of no further ~~xxxx~~ coppers. It is clear that the recipient of a copper from a fire ^{derives} receives no direct ^{gain} advantage from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it at his potlatch since its value, depending ^{entirely} on the goods expended for it, is only \$20.00, a sum so small that to use ^{it} would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of making (1). In the old days, values were, of course, computed in slaves, canoes, salmon and other commodities. Since the introduction of money, the values of coppers have been expressed in dollars, a method here followed in order to lessen the complexities of the financial transactions.

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increasing its value:—

1. BY PAINTING. Taking advantage of one ceremony when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter the sum of, for example, \$10.00, with a request that he paint on ^{his copper} ~~it~~ him a representation of the aloak used by his, ~~the owner's~~, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is \$30.00, \$20.00 being the original price and \$10.00, the cost of painting.

2. BY NAMING. The Bella Coola say that among the Kwakiuti ^{names are given to} almost all coppers; in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Bella Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally a chief creates a name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a name is Qwaixwos, "Begrimed", applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ If, for example, \$50.00 be expended for a name, the value of ^{a \$30.00} the copper is henceforth \$80.00. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

3. BY THE MAKING OF GIFTS. The owner of a copper ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ of which he wishes to increase the value ~~can~~ ^{may} do so by calling together the other chiefs of his village, ~~and~~ sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his copper, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests who, unless he wishes to insult his ~~guest~~ ^{guest}, must hold it upright, that is, Presently it is returned to the owner, who gives it in turn to each of his guests with the broad end uppermost. To validate the display, the owner must ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ bestow gifts on all present, ^{and} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest.

By these means it is possible for the original purchaser of a worthless copper to increase its value ^{such} to a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for ~~ex-~~ ^{instance,} ~~ample,~~ at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any ~~reach a value greater than \$300.00,~~ ^{are ever worth more}

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while the average value is probably between \$150.00 and \$200.00. ^{Considerable} ~~The actual~~ ^{is} time re-
 quired to raise the value of a copper to this sum ~~is considerable~~ and ~~during this~~
~~time some other chief may have acquired~~ the owner frequently finds that he has all
 other requirements ^{before} while his copper is ^{ready} still too low for use. In such a case, he must
 tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient ^{value} by its owner. Everyone
 knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purcha-
 ser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued ^(at) for example,
 \$150.00. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as large a price
 as possible, perhaps \$175.00. ^{The} This sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value
 of the copper which is transmitted to the new owner with a statement of its history
 and the ^{amount} ~~sum~~ expended on it. The ~~purchase~~ ^{therefore} of a copper is ^{thus} a good bu-
 siness transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen commercial instinct
 would endeavour to acquire as many as possible. This is said to be the case in R Fort
 Rupert, but in Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers un-
 less with the definite purpose of using them at potlatches. None the less, every am-
 bitious chief hopes to give potlatches so that he can always claim ~~that~~ the acquisi-
 tion of one ^{is for} ~~is with this aim in view~~ ^{end,} and that the selling of ~~one~~ ^{it} is merely from
 kindness of heart to assist a fellow-chief ~~who is~~ nearer the desired goal than ~~he~~
 himself. Consequently, selling of coppers is tolerably common and a chief is not con-
 sidered to have displayed mercenary instincts unless he does so ^{too frequently.} ~~on very many occas-~~
~~ions.~~

The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the ceremony, secure in
 the possession of a copper worthy to be thrown on the fire after the passage of his
 deceased relative. In addition, he is the owner of another copper of too small value
 for this purpose. As described in the last chapter, ^{he} ~~the intending donor~~ ^{unusually} ~~frequently~~
 calls together the inhabitants of his own village to rites which he validates by the
 distribution of presents, and at which he also gives away "investment presents." He
 may decide to use his second copper for this purpose. All "investment presents", given

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only to chiefs, must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind consists of a copper, ~~it a~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ return of 100% is expected on the transaction. In fact, the bestowal of a copper under such circumstances is not spoken of as an "investment present", klāntusnam, but as ānuxop', which has the definite significance of something that must be returned with 100% interest. If the value of the copper had been \$25.00 before this bestowal, it is now \$50.00, since ~~this~~ ^{he} is the sum which the new owner must repay to the donor, the chief planning to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he cancels \$50.00 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as ānuxop', announcement is made that its value is \$50.00 and ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{he} expects to receive \$100.00 in return. ~~This~~ ^{the} last sum is now the value of the copper. This second bestowal ~~may~~ ^{may} take place before the owner has paid the \$50.00 that he owes to the original ~~owner~~ ^{owner} possessor. There is no time limit to Bella Coola debts since it adds to the debtor's prestige to pay off his ~~debt~~ ^{debt} indebtedness, publicly of course, when his creditor is giving a ceremony of any kind. ~~Withxxxxxx~~ ^{At every transmission} announcement is made of the history of the copper and ^{of} its value at every stage of its existence. In this way the worth of a copper increases until it is ~~worthy~~ ^{fit} to be thrown into the fire after the passing of a dead ~~ancestor~~ ^{kinsman}. When a copper that has been used as ānuxop' is at last ~~thrown~~ ^{cast} into the ~~fire~~ ^{flames}, and later rescued from ~~it~~ ^{them}, it is customary for the new owner to use it once more as ānuxop'. On the other hand, a copper that has been raised to ~~value~~ ^{value} by the gift of a name, painting, and so forth, is normally again revalued in the same way when rescued from oblivion. There is no definite rule about this; it is only a tendency.

The value of a

A copper acquired from either a white man or a member of a foreign tribe is equivalent to its purchase price, and can be raised in any one of the ways ~~ex~~ employed for one that has been thrown into a fire.

In many cases the donor of a potlatch prefers not to be the actual possessor

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respect to their coppers and that, ^{then} with the return of these, the values of coppers-
^{when the gifts are returned.} mount to enormous sums. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like ~~xxxxxx~~ the
~~xxxxxx~~ potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through
 the influence of the coastal tribes.

It is no easy task ~~even~~ to describe the uses ~~in~~ which the Bella Coola ~~are~~ make
 of their coppers; it is almost impossible to define these objects in the nomenclature
 of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practi-
 cal use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade,
 since each differs in value not only from all other coppers, but also at different
^r
^A periods. Nor are they currency, ~~xxxxxx~~ since they have no established value. In a
 sense they serve as tokens of what has been expended; representations of coppers are
 often carved and ~~is~~ painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods
 which the chief has given away, but this is only a minor consideration. A copper can,
 perhaps, best be described as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose,
 "the making of bone for a deceased" person. Its value increases at every transmission
 in accordance with the goods expended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible
 memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of coppers, debts are
 passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact,
 it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to ^{want} ~~pay for~~ the sums re-
 presented by their coppers.

PROFESSIONAL PREROGATIVES.

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been
 noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has
 the prerogative of using that designation; a kusiut dance can be performed only by
 an individual
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ with the rightful prerogative; specific totem-pole designs,

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the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; ^{as is also in} ~~and~~ the area on which a man can hunt or fish, ~~is likewise a prerogative~~. The concept of ~~prerogatives~~ colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life ^{based on prerogatives, wrapped up in but} ~~guided by these~~, on them depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. ~~But~~ No prerogative, even though it be the ~~legal~~ property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Much ^{of} a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of ~~an~~ individual on another's rights.

In addition to the various types ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's ~~a~~ vocation. That of herald approximates this class although the Bella Coola do not ^{so} consider it, ~~as such~~, but rather as a ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ right only operative during ~~ritual~~ ceremonies. The belief ^{rest} on which ~~depend~~ professional ~~xxxx~~ prerogatives is that a man's ability as a hunter, canoe-maker, and so forth does not depend on his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents, ^{which virtually implant the ability in him.} These can be given at any convenient ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ^{time} when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have "become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents ~~so~~ bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his ~~xxxxxxxx~~ vocation, whereas another confirms himself on a lesser scale. The origin of professional prerogatives, like so many of other kinds, is lost in antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of Älquntän as expressed to the first people. Some of these ^{early settlers came} ~~were sent down~~ to earth others, ^{realizing these, created them through their own enormous power.} with definite duties and vocations, ^{and} each ^{indicated by a special name}. At the death ^{acted} of ~~one of these~~ ^{of the incumbents}, this name passed to one of his relatives who functioned in the same manner as his predecessor, after duly validating the name in question. Ever

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since that time, the owner of a confirmed professional name has been able to perform the functions of the prerogative. Needless to say, this is never a man's sole designation, but merely in addition to those of ancestral, kusiut, sasack, and other types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case, the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and suggest the matter to him; if he accepts, it is settled, otherwise the opportunity is given to another. It may be that a member of the group is eager to validate the name, in which case it is unlikely that anyone would try to forestall him. Ability in certain respects can be obtained by magical means, and a member of the ancestral family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

The Profession of River Guardian.

In the beginning of time, Alquntam sent down with Qeit, who landed on the mountain behind Qomqotsa, a man, uxw-naisa, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative ^{has} ~~does~~ ^{brought} ~~bring~~ with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but non-functioning craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name uxw-naisa has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial, certain restrictions have been enforced concerning the river:-- No refuse can be thrown in, otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, menstruating women are not allowed to bathe since even a speck of their blood would be enough to blind the fish and prevent them from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen ^{when the fish are actually in the river, women are neither allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets.} with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if

